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NATO: SYMBOL OF A STERILE POLICY

DURING the development of British imperialism the British ruling class had a clearly recognisable foreign policy. Superficially, it might look fortuitous, and could give rise to the characterisation "perfidious Albion" levelled by the French; but it was based on the very simple principle of the "balance of power."

This policy did not seek a genuine balance; that it is possible to find a peaceful world on a carefully contrived equipoise in armed strength is an illusion that often falsifies policy statements today.

The "balance of power" was a British policy which sought to prevent any combination of powers gaining military ascendancy over other combinations without Britain's aid.

When, therefore, one combination tipped the balance, Britain came in on the side of the weaker combination, and thus tipped the balance the other way.

From the standpoint of power politics it was an enormously successful policy: it enabled the British possessing and governing classes to bring under British control an enormous proportion of the world's territory and peoples, and to emerge on the victorious side in all her wars (although increasingly victory has taken on a very bitter flavour).

That phase in human history has now passed away for Britain, and for that matter for all the other powers. Power was then spread not too unequally among a number of governments situated in Europe; most of the rest of the world was available for their imperialistic manoeuvres.



TODAY the power division is on a world scale; it is focussed in the two monster powers, the US and the USSR. Britain is no longer able to tilt the balance of power.

Britain can play a part in the power struggle only in a subordinate role. Its interests must inevitably have a diminishing significance. Its views exercise a decreasing influence.

In this situation the method of nuclear warfare has developed and its instruments have been accumulated by the leader Power in the two hostile blocs. Now all the powers have to recognise, and act on their recognition, that world war can no longer be accepted as a possible final end in the power struggle because it must mean general human catastrophe. No power can advance or safeguard its interests by such means.

Since the realisation of this overwhelming fact came upon the statesmen of the various powers, they have been living "from hand to mouth" in their conceptions of international policy. They have had no clear guiding lines.

There are indications that the Russian Government have some appreciation of the enormous consequences of the change, but judging by the pronouncements of Western statesmen, their policies today are without direction.

That this should be so where the US is concerned is not surprising. There must be a sense of chagrin when one has struggled to the position of a world power only to find that the old conception of power has become an anachronism because it would be fatal to act upon it.



SO far as Britain is concerned, however, the position is different. Even without the development of nuclear warfare Britain would no longer remain a Great Power.

The more its leaders struggle to hold on to the position of Second Class Power, the greater will become their subordination to America, the more they will destroy possibilities for economic advancement for Britain, and the more surely will the name of Britain become detested among the peoples whose friendship it could otherwise have won.

However much the US and the USSR may continue to be tempted to put their faith in the chimera of military strength, "conventional" and nuclear, it has become very apparent that for Britain today any realistic policy must have a pacifist basis.

The outstanding symbol of ineffectiveness in British policy today is its continued association with NATO, an outmoded and sterile conception.

A first step in an effective British policy—which would enable Britain to offer a new world leadership in terms of the conditions of today—would be a move for the liquidation of NATO.

LAND AND DISARMAMENT IN INDIA

THE Eighth Annual Conference of Sarvodaya workers is over. It has been held in India annually since Gandhi's death in 1948. Many workers eagerly look forward to attending it.

It has almost assumed the shape of a Conference of Bhoodan workers, not only because of the idea of a fellowship of Sarvodaya workers was Vinoba's but because to most Gandhians the land-gift movement, with its extensive programme and ultimate conception of Gramraj (village republics), is the accepted practical programme.

Bhoodan is drawing in many of the organisations and institutions Gandhi set up and each institution is attempting to integrate its own independent programme with the work of the land-gift movement.

Challenge of education

It was very significant that this year together with the Sarvodaya Conference, the Hindustani Talimi Sangh held its annual All India Basic Education Conference.

In order to bring the reconstruction of villages through village industries and basic education to the forefront, Vinoba Bhave insisted on the holding of these conferences together.

Land distribution is only a beginning of the programme of reconstruction. The entire programme can only be hastened by a programme of education at all stages.

The challenge of basic education—consisting of gaining an intelligent understanding of natural and social

Focus on the Bhoodan movement
By RADHAKRISHNA

environment, the cultivation of practical skills with a social purpose—is the best preparation for a new social order.

Through the blending of basic education with the programmes associated with land-distribution a new awareness can be created, and preparation made for a new form of living, involving the total education of the community.

The Sarvodaya Conference this year coincided with the celebrations all over the world of Buddha's enlightenment. The Conference was presided over by Appa Patwardhan, a veteran Gandhian worker from Maharashtra.

The President of India, Rajendra Prasad, attended the session. The President of the Congress Political Party was there to pledge the support of his party to the movement.

Sri C. Rajagopalachari, one of the old guards of the country and the last Governor-General in India, inaugurated the Conference. He appealed to the Government of India to cut expenditure of defence at least by 50 per cent unilaterally.

Vinoba took up the refrain in his speeches. They both insisted that US military aid to Pakistan should not deter India from taking unilateral action in reducing armaments. India should boldly move forward in its policy of universal peace.

Unilateral disarmament would be

an effective proof of the country's courage. Otherwise, they said, "we do not deserve to talk about Gandhi and his ideals."

The Conference considered the progress of land collection and distribution from all over India. Land collected totalled 4,300,000 acres and 1,400 villages had pooled all their land into community ownership of their own. Distribution was still slow and not fully organised.

New urgency

Bihar led in collections: 2,400,000 acres. Bombay had topped the list in collection of funds for follow-up work, digging wells and distributions of seeds, implements and animal power.

Orissa had donated the largest number of villages which had abolished the idea of individual ownership of land. In Madhya Pradesh, ordinary workers had the unique experience of being able to collect land without the direct assistance and participation of top-ranking leaders.

A new urgency was felt regarding the distribution of land and achieving the target fixed for 1957 of collecting 50,000,000 acres. Vinoba's emphasis in the next stage of his tour was to be on khadi (homespun cloth) and village industries, basic education and bhoodan (land sharing).

The idea is to create an effective climate of opinion for Gramraj, the

★ ON BACK PAGE

IN PERSPECTIVE

THE most important consequences outside Russia of the Khrushchev revelations regarding the Stalin regime have occurred in Italy.

In the Italian political situation the Nenni section of the Socialist Party have found it possible to "fellow-travel" with the Communists without being absorbed and destroyed as a party as in the Russian satellite countries; although it is difficult to believe that Nenni could have anticipated that his Party could have survived if it had become associated with the Communists in the carrying through of revolutionary changes.

Now Togliatti for the Communists in Nuovo Argomenti, and Nenni for his group of Socialists in Avanti, have each made long statements in criticism of the Russian regime.

Of these, that from Nenni is by far the more important. Although Togliatti declares for the right of the Communist Parties to pursue policies independently of the wishes of the Russian Communist Party and Government, he appears to find his major reason for criticism that Khrushchev has lifted the lid on what has happened in Russia without consultation of the other Communist Parties.

Challenge to CP

NENNI'S criticism, on the other hand, raises the fundamental issues behind the question of how the nightmare of the Stalin regime could have come about, and he finds the answer where it can only be found—in the character of the Communist conception of policy.

He points out, too, that the Khrushchev disclosures represent no fundamental change in the regime: "The twentieth congress was asked to believe: it does not appear that it was given the means to judge."

Nenni indicates that he hopes to be able to move towards union with the Saragat group of Socialists and he is clearly anticipating that they may be able to challenge the Communists for working-class leadership.

The French Communist leaders have so far done all they can to damp down any discussion among their followers on the implications of the Khrushchev speech, but when the French CP meets in Conference on July 18 it is probable that it will be found that Italian developments will have profoundly affected the outlook of the French left.

Post-Stalin Russia

THE two most valuable examinations of what is happening today in Russia that we have seen have been written by I. F. Stone in his weekly newsletter, and our own contributor A. J. Muste in the May issue of Liberation.

Mr. Stone's articles have been written after a recent visit to Moscow.

Mr. Muste's article is a penetrating examination of what the "de-sanctification and vilification of Stalin" portend. The conclusion he reaches

is that the defamations of Stalin was in the nature of the guarantee that Stalin's successors required of each other as a foundation for a collective leadership.

"By murdering Stalin's image they have created a psychological situation . . . wherein it is virtually impossible, for a good while at least, for anyone to rise to popularity and power as the reincarnation of that image."

"They have, moreover, provided a scapegoat for all the leaders, who

Communism Russia Africa Security

survived as leaders because they co-operated with Stalin, all of whom in laying their sins on the sacrificial goat implicated themselves in the shame and guilt of the past."

In this conclusion there is, of course, a good deal of the guesswork that becomes both necessary and possible wherever totalitarian secrecy is concerned, and it is possible to make other guesses than this.

In arriving at his conclusion, however, "A.J." has provided a masterly theoretical examination of developments in Russia which pacifists will find most illuminating. We urge our readers to obtain copies of Liberation and read this article.

Capricorn contract

A FINE and generous statement of belief opens the "contract" proposed by the Capricorn Africa Society which met last week at Salima in Nyasaland. It says:

"All men, in spite of their varying individual talents and differences of race and colour, are born equal in dignity before God and have a common duty to Him and to one another."

In the remaining five clauses of the contract there is a good deal more that seems to point to a different outlook from that under which native Africans of South Africa and the Rhodesias have had to suffer up to the present.

But there is also a good deal that raises the question whether the operations of the Capricorn Society are really directed to the attainment of a smoother working method of maintaining White ascendancy rather than to the effective realisation of a genuinely equal status for all men whatever the colour of their skins.

Equality before God, yes; but is there ever to be equality in relation to the processes of government?

Much that appears in this contract gives the impression of being contrived to provide a doctrinal backing for the fantastic franchise measures now being proposed for Kenya; and the concluding sentence claims that

"the vote is not a natural right but a responsibility to be exercised for the common good."

The vote: a right

THE vote is both a right and a responsibility. That is to say it may be used in the way the voter thinks it will best serve his interests, and it is desirable that it should also be used to express his estimate of what will be best for the common good.

The more the calculation as to interest is subordinated to a judgement on social welfare the better for the body politic.

The Capricorn advocates with hardly claim that a disinterested regard for the common good is what mainly actuates the present voters in the various parts of Africa.

In Britain either, for that matter, if there is any illusion about that, the Capricorn supporters would do well to take a look at the discussions that have followed the Tonbridge by-election, or consider the factors that play such a considerable part in influencing the votes of trade unionists.

We have no moral justification in demanding that native Africans shall bring to the business of representative government a higher degree of social conscience than we have attained to ourselves.

"You ought to go"

THE NATO commander in Iceland has declared that the first purpose of the air base at Keflavik is the protection of Iceland, but in the view of Iceland's Foreign Minister the real purpose is to protect the USA. "He comments:

"It is always better to fight a war a little way from your own home."

There can be no doubt which is the correct view.

The USA is no more concerned to protect Iceland or, for that matter, Britain than Britain is concerned about the real interests of the Ceylonese or Cypriots.

In every case the basis consideration is that of security for the West power in terms of strategic bases which immediately become the focus point for attack in war and thus involve the destruction of the people concerned.

Little wonder that the people of Iceland have shown their desire to be rid of this kind of protection, and that Ceylon's Mr. Solomon Bandula aike intends to secure the withdrawal of British troops from his country.

It would be well if the people of Britain were as far-seeing and demanded the withdrawal of American troops from this country.

There is no longer security in far-flung bases, and if the Western powers are to persuade the rest of the world that they are really concerned about the freedom and rights of small nations, they cannot afford to allow the consideration of their own security to justify even a partial occupation of other people's territory.

Security, whether for Iceland, Ceylon, or Britain, lies not in bases which are part of the policy of peace by the deterrent of the H-bomb, but in total disarmament.

From the Editor's Notebook

"He carried our message"

WAR resisters in Holland lost a good friend earlier this year by the death of the Rev. N. J. C. Schermerhorn at the age of 89.

The place where he lived, Nieuwe Niedorp, became familiar to all those who have read the lists of Dutch COs in prison at Christmas—that was the measure of his influence.

"He was a splendid speaker," Wim Jong, Dutch member of the War Resisters' International Council, tells me. "He carried our message all through the country."

Labour Peace Fellowship

LAATEST MP to join the ranks of the Labour Peace Fellowship is Henry McGhee (Lab., Penistone, Yorks).

He was first elected in 1935. From 1950-51 he was Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Works. His home is in Sheffield.

Sacked . . .

THE following have been given the sack recently in the USA: John Salzer from Tucson (Arizona) Post Office, because as a member of the local Fellowship of Reconciliation group he had been involved in telling High School students about the right to register as a conscientious objector.

Lyle Tatum, from his post as Administrator of the Protestant Home for Children in Buffalo, New York. It was charged that he per-

mitted The Flag (my capitals) to remain up on the grounds one night and did not do enough for the Scouts and Girl Scouts. He dismissed the charges.

Asked if his views as a CO had anything to do with his dismissal he said: "I think they did, although the board certainly knew my views before I came here."

. . . and enrolled

LYLE TATUM was former executive secretary of the US Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, from whose News Notes I have gleaned this news of the sackings.

He has since been appointed Secretary of the Mid Atlantic Region of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers).

On the credit side, in Alabama, yes, Alabama, the Court has ordered that Mrs. W. W. Lumpkin's name be enrolled on the register of voters even though she could not promise to bear arms in defence of the country. The registrars had twice refused to enroll her.

New open door

A NEW "open-door," where travellers can have two days' free hospitality under the "Servas" name, is in the Nilgiri Hills in India.

It is the home of semi-invalid Mary Barr, who has a splendid record as a Gandhian worker in both India and

NOT THAT WAY



To add a touch of conviction to a Civil Defence recruiting film, the Home Office arranged that the four-year-old grand-daughter of a CD worker should crawl around on the rubble.

But the film producers could not bring a look of terror into her eyes, nor make her cry convincingly.

At last an idea came. Grandma would walk away, as though leaving the child.

"Your Nannie's gone," said the cameraman. Tears and the required look came into the child's eyes. The camera whirled. . . . "The final scene with Jill will probably be the one that sticks in people's minds," says a newspaper report.

Such methods and resources are not available to us in appealing for support for Peace News.

Our need is great. We want our Fund figure to stand at £1,500 by the beginning of July, for we have over £3,000 to raise this year from this appeal and a further £2,000 from the sale of Christmas cards and books.

Last week we received a generous gift of £400 from a reader who was, in this way, able to express his desire to see the paper continue publication.

Are there 10 other readers who can support him with cheques for £40; or 40 who can send £10 or 100 who can send £4?

This week-end is a vital half-way mark in our financial year. Please help in whatever way you can to raise the further £400 which we so urgently need.

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since June 15: £487 0s. 5d.
Total since January 1, 1956: £1,129 15s. 5d.
Other anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged from: Bristol, 5s.; Huddersfield, 5s.; Wrexham, 5s.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Fellowship Party to contest 32 seats

SPEAKING at Bellingham recently, Ronald Mallone said John Loverseed, AFC, would again contest South Lewisham at the next General Election.

The Fellowship Party was especially glad to oppose Herbert Morrison, since he represented the fall of the Labour Party from its great anti-war and anti-conscription ideals which he held in the Great War.

Since World War II he had supported US occupation of Britain, atomic and hydrogen bombs, military conscription and German re-armament.

John Loverseed was no longer a solitary independent, Mallone said, but the Chairman of a party of principle. Thirty London seats, Hull and Peterborough, are to be contested by the Fellowship Party.

International students hear two views CYPRUS: "A question of morality"

From K. PAT LAWS

"**TRY** to put yourselves in the shoes of the Cypriot people, and remember that this is a question of morality and justice," said Mr. S. A. Kyprianou, opening his contribution to a discussion on the problem of Cyprus at the Club of International Students in Loughborough recently.

Mr. Kyprianou, who is Secretary in London to the Ethnarchy of Cyprus, was opposed by Colonel Euan McKinnon, a private individual, who was putting the case for the Government of Cyprus.

Mr. Kyprianou based his argument upon the right of self-determination of peoples, which Britain has admitted in her acquiescence to the Charter of the United Nations. He pointed out that the Cypriots could not be bound by Treaties between Britain and Turkey deciding her future, because no Cypriot had signed these treaties.

Violence and its source

Even when the Tripartite Conference of the United Nations on the Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus was called, no Cypriot representative had been invited. The Conference was, however, valuable in indicating Britain's recognition of the fact that the problem was an international, and not merely a colonial one.

Why then did Britain not submit the matter to international arbitration?

It was stressed that Britain had made a great mistake in sending a military man, Sir John Harding, to govern Cyprus. If their aim was peaceful rule, surely it would have been better to send a politician, not a soldier.

Mr. Kyprianou deprecated the violence in Cyprus, but emphasised that the terrorists were not backed, or even countenanced, by the Ethnarchy.

He pointed out, however, that one must condemn, besides the perpetrator of violence, the person who, by his wrong action, has provoked that violence.

Questioned as to the reason for the failure of negotiations between Archbishop Makarios and the British Government, Mr. Kyprianou explained that Britain had refused to guarantee a Cypriot elected majority in the proposed National Assembly.

Without such a composition, he pointed out, the Constitution would be a travesty of democracy.

Colonel McKinnon opened by stressing the "subjective nature of morality." He based

his argument upon the strategic position of Cyprus as a bulwark to Russian expansion, pointing out that Britain was holding Cyprus for NATO, and contended that there was an economic motive behind Greek support of Enosis, Cyprus as a rich land appearing desirable to Greece, who has two million destitute. Colonel McKinnon stated that Archbishop Makarios shares with Hitler the heresy of race, and claimed that Enosis was the present day equivalent of the annexation of Austria by Hitler in 1938. Enosis, he said, was supported by the Greek and Cypriot Communist parties. He pointed out that there was a Turkish minority comprising about one-fifth of the population of Cyprus, whom British rule would protect against oppression by the majority. Britain could not give up her position of trust in Cyprus, he concluded by saying, until she was assured that self-determination would bring equal freedom to that enjoyed under British rule.

Ends and means

In the questions from the floor which followed, Mr. Kyprianou was asked what Cyprus would gain from unity with Greece. He replied the majority of Cypriots were Greeks, and if anyone doubted the strength or unanimity of their desire for Enosis, they had only to hold a plebiscite.

A student asked Colonel McKinnon if he could explain why Britain was following a policy of expediency whilst maintaining that her stand against totalitarianism was a stand against the morality which held that the end justifies the means.

Colonel McKinnon summed up the problem in Cyprus as being a sense of nationalism without nationhood. Self-determination, he said, would not mean freedom for Cyprus, but rule by Greece.

In his final contribution, Mr. Kyprianou expressed his belief that, since the twentieth century is not a century of conquest, but of self-determination, Britain, in refusing this right to the Cypriots, was damaging her good name throughout the world.

The meeting was well attended by about 100 students of many races. They appeared evenly divided in their support of the two speakers.

ACQUITTED PACIFIST HELD THREE YEARS IN KENYA

LESLIE HALE, MP, has been battling in the House of Commons to obtain the release of a Christian pacifist, Richard Achieng Onoko, and an over-80-year-old ex-Chief, from detention camps in Kenya.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies has refused in both cases to provide Members of Parliament with particulars of the charges against them and evidence for those charges.

In the debate on Kenya in the House of Commons on June 6 Leslie Hale said:

"My recollection of Achieng Onoko is that he was a charming, young, educated African pacifist who had come to work at the League of Nations and who was as keenly political as I was."

"I believe he is the sort of man with whom we should be negotiating."

On June 13, Mr. Hale asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies:

(1) "Why Richard Achieng Onoko, who was brought to trial in Kenya in 1952 and acquitted in 1953, is still being imprisoned notwithstanding the finding of not guilty and if he will reconsider this matter and also place in the Library of the House particulars of charges outstanding and evidence in support of them."

(2) "Why ex-Chief of the Kikuyu, Mbuyi Koinange who was brought to trial in 1953 and acquitted without the defence being called upon, is still in detention and has been in detention since before the outbreak of the Mau Mau rising under laws passed subsequent to his arrest; and whether he will reconsider this matter and also place in the Library the charges which have been made and the evidence in support."

Mr. Lennox-Boyd replied: "I have nothing to add to my replies to the hon. Member on March 9 and October 26, 1955."

In reply to Mr. Lennox-Boyd's parry, Mr. Hale said, "Richard Achieng faced a trial lasting many months . . . the court of appeal said that there was no evidence at all against him . . . he was then re-arrested under the emergency Regulations which had been passed while he was in prison [and] that he has been in prison since before the state of emergency was declared . . ."

Therefore, he said, "this Christian pacifist cannot possibly have broken any Emergency Regulations . . ."

Ex-Chief Koinange, over 80 years of age, has been in prison since before the emergency was declared, he said, and "at his trial the court of first instance dismissed the charge without calling on the defence on the ground that there was no evidence against him."

Mr. Lennox-Boyd pleaded that "the circumstances of the chief's detention are very generous, particularly because of his very great age."

"I am satisfied that there is this in common between the two cases, that it is in the interests of the mass of the people of Kenya as a whole that these persons should not be prematurely released."

Mr. Anenrin Bevan rose and said, "The right hon. Gentleman gets cheers from behind him but few in the country. Is it not a fact that the retention of this man of over 80 years of age who has been declared innocent by a court of law disgusts all decent opinion in Great Britain?"

Mr. Lennox-Boyd: "No, Sir."

*On March 9, 1955, Mr. Lennox-Boyd had said in response to a question by Mr. Hale about these men and Mr. Odede, a Member of the Kenya Legislative Assembly, then in prison for nearly three years without charge or trial, that "They are detained on grounds of public security. The Advisory Committee on Detainees, having heard appeals from each, has recommended that they should continue to be detained."

On October 26, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, replying to Mr. Hale's questions about Mr. Odede and ex-Chief Koinange, said, ". . . these men are detained on grounds of public security. The need for their continued detention is kept under regular review by the Governor and I do not propose to intervene."

GOA: TEN YEARS OF SATYAGRAHA

From a Special Correspondent

THE tenth anniversary of the first satyagraha of Goans was commemorated on June 18 at a meeting organised by The Goa League in London.

The problem of the Portuguese colonies in India is not something which arose only after the Indian independence. In fact the struggle for the liberation of Goa was an integral part of the Indian Nationalist movement, under Mahatma Gandhi.

On June 18, 1946, a year before the independence of India a non-violent and spontaneous demonstration of Goans against Portuguese rule took place in Margao and in other towns in Goa.

Thousands of Goans marched in the streets, defying the Portuguese ban on public meetings.

As a result hundreds of Goans were arrested and thirteen Goans were deported to Portugal, and Angola and Cape Verde Islands. The movement demanded civil liberties which had been suppressed by Doctor Salazar's Regime.

It was also the beginning of the Goans independence movement. Both in its objective and in its method of struggle it followed the pattern of the Indian Nationalist movement.

Non-violence only

Today Goans in Goa as well as abroad are fighting for the freedom of their mother land. In this fight they are scrupulously adhering to non-violence.

Indeed what is happening in Goa today is the brutal suppression by force of the peaceful resistance of the people of Goa to the Portuguese rule. Thousands of nationalists who refused to co-operate with the authorities have been put in jails.

Since February 1954 over two thousand five hundred Goans have been arrested, besides many who have lost their jobs or have been victimised for holding nationalist views.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn, MP, addressing the meeting advised the Goans: "do not despair for the moral power of world public opinion is great and history is on your side."

He added, "What happens in Goa, India or anywhere else in the world was of great concern to the British people. World opinion must discuss things happening all over the globe in order to secure the great changes that are necessary. For five centuries Europe has dominated the world, but that is no longer the case."

Mr. C. W. W. Greenidge, Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society gave a detailed account of the system of forced labour practised in Portugal's African colonies.

Lord Birdwood gave a brief message as representative of the Conservative Party. Referring to the problem of Goa, he said: "This issue is above party politics. Speaking for myself and for my own party, I assure you of our best wishes."

In aid of freedom

The meeting was presided over by Dr. H. C. Denis. Other speakers included Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Secretary of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, and Mr. A. P. Remedios and Mr. R. Gean of the Goa League.

Goans in India as well as in Europe and East Africa have felt it their duty to come to the assistance of their brethren in Goa.

The Goa League has been organised to put before the British public facts about Goa. It works for the "freedom of Goa and its reunion with India."

In this they have the sympathy and support of progressive members of both political parties in Britain.

The brutal acts of Dr. Salazar are bringing into disrepute the principle of Western civilisation which he claims to defend in Goa. Therefore, the British public has a direct interest in rectifying the present situation in Goa.

In August, 1954, the British Government sent a note to the Indian Government "expressing anxiety over Goa," and it has, therefore, associated itself by implication with the attitude taken by Portugal.

Spiritual guidance?

A YOUNG American soldier recently became a conscientious objector and sought spiritual counsel from his army chaplain.

The latter discouraged the CO from seeking a discharge on grounds of conscience. The CO said that his conscience would no longer permit him to shoot the enemy.

According to "News Notes," journal of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, the chaplain advised him to "fire over their heads."

SWISS PEACE COUNCIL ASK RIGHTS FOR COS

THE Swiss Council of Peace Organisations, at its last annual assembly adopted a resolution calling for the admission of Switzerland to the United Nations while at the same time maintaining its traditional neutrality.

It regards help to the under-developed countries an urgent duty in the interests of peace of the Swiss Confederation and an indispensable contribution to adequate national defence.

It calls upon Parliament to accept the Borel Bill in regard to the recognition of conscientious objectors and the institution of a Civilian Service as an alternative to military service.

It protests against the motto chosen by the Federal Council for the new gold 25 frs. piece: "In armis libertas et pax" ("In arms, freedom and peace"), which sets forth an erroneous conception of the foundations of freedom and peace which are by no means founded upon force of arms.

—WRI News Service.

RENOUNCING WAR

What does it mean in Russia?
FROM A CORRESPONDENT

AT the Stockholm meeting of the World Peace Council a group of religious leaders and pastors came together and put out an appeal to the faithful of all religions for mutual trust and understanding.

This appeal is signed, among others, by the Metropolitan Nikolai and Mr. Alexander Karev, the General Secretary of the Russian Union of Baptists, and by Bishop Peter of Hungary, as well as by a number of Ministers of religion from the Western nations.

In the course of this letter the signatories call upon all believers "to condemn and renounce the very thought of war," which sounds a little as if they are endorsing the Peace Pledge Union's pledge.

Now we have not hitherto observed that these Church leaders of the Eastern nations have been any more disposed to urge upon Christians the personal renunciation of war than have our own Archbishops, and two years ago (June, 1954) Mr. Karev was developing in the Moscow monthly, News, an argument to show that pacifism was without Christian sanction.

If he has changed his mind we shall naturally be glad and shall hope to learn of any initiative he may be taking for the forming of a Russian section of the War Resisters' International.

Should he still hold the same view as he held two years ago, however, we should welcome any account he may like to give us of what that appeal to believers to renounce the very thought of war may mean to him.

Does he hold that the young Christian (in Russia or Britain) who reports for military training and spends months in learning to manipulate lethal weapons to the greatest effect has renounced the very thought of war?



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BOOKS



PETER ABRAHAMS

NEW NOVEL OF AFRICA

Reviewed by
Robert Greacen

A Wreath for Udomo, by Peter Abrahams, Faber and Faber, London, 15s.

ANYONE who has read the previous books of Peter Abrahams—*Tell Freedom*, for instance—will not need to be told that this coloured South African, now living in London, is a fine natural writer. He writes well because he has something vital and urgent to say, something in which he believes deeply.

Mr. Abrahams has made good use of his sojourn in London, for that is where his latest novel opens. We are introduced to a group of Africans in exile who are longing and working for the day when their people will gain self-government.

Udomo, an ardent and dominant young man, becomes their leader. We are told how they go about their aim. The theme of their varied relationships with a number of English women is sensitively explored.

One by one these young men go back to Africa in order to make the dream into reality. Udomo in the end finds himself Prime Minister of his country. But things do not work out as he had hoped in London. As he remarks to an African friend newly arrived from England:

We face problems . . . Running departments isn't the same as making speeches, you know.

Udomo's plans are opposed by the tribally-minded party manager, whose scheming has helped win him power. The old gods are invoked and the drums begin to sound: "Udomo traitor Udomo die." He is hacked to death by his two former guards.

That, in brief, is the story which Mr. Abrahams tells in his fascinating new novel. Here, then, is the Africa not of the blue books and political speakers, but of human beings, idealistic, fanatical, kindly, and brutal.

A *Wreath for Udomo* may be recommended equally to those who want to know more about Africa's people and problems, and those who can enjoy an exciting, well-written narrative.

H-bomb shield

Atom Harvest, by Leonard Bertin, Secker and Warburg, London, 20s.

MR. BERTIN, who for the past four years has been the Daily Telegraph science correspondent, sets out to deal with both the military and peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The history of atomic research and the technical processes involved are simplified for the layman. So far so good.

Unfortunately Mr. Bertin accepts the conventional view of the military application of these monstrous weapons. One chapter heading runs: "The H-bomb Our Shield." Significantly, perhaps, the next is entitled: "Energy Spells Prosperity." There, in brief, we see the tragedy of man's twin-image and double-thinking on the whole problem. Destruction or construction is ours for the asking.

ATOM HARVEST may be recommended as a useful work of popular science; but when its author touches on the military and political aspects of nuclear research his views are contradictory and unsound.

H. E. Fosdick

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WILFRED WELLOCK'S PEACE NEWS LECTURE The cultural basis of a free society

Peace News Reporter

"OUR economy is a war producing economy. I am not interested in any disarmament policy which takes no account of basic causative factors. Culture is the basic need of our age."

This was the message given by Wilfred Wellock at the fifth of the Peace News lecture series; it is the message which by his writings and lectures he has been spreading on both sides of the Atlantic.

"By culture I mean that in a person which determines his conduct—of which he may or may not be conscious—his religion, philosophy, sense of values, ideas—the something within him which determines his choice of this or the other," he continued.

"The African tribes have a culture natural to their tribal life. Taken from their villages to factories and cities they are left rudderless; thousands of lives have thus been shipwrecked."

The Hopi Indians of America had a culture in contrast to which modern American life appeared barbaric to many Americans who have experience of it.

Only a new culture, a change of values would save the world today.

"During my lifetime a profound social revolution has taken place in this country," he continued. "It has sprung from a fundamental change in outlook and values—that is in ideology and culture."

"Part of that revolution was the clash between socialist and capitalist ideology, which resulted in a big exodus from the churches in the first quarter of the present century."

"In consequence traditional habits and customs and values were superseded by new ones which have revolutionised human behaviour."

Creative self-expression

Within the Labour Movement itself, the spiritual idealism of William Morris and of Independent Labour Party pioneers such as Keir Hardie asserted that Industry should be run by the workers themselves and that men should control the instruments by which they earn their bread.

Keir Hardie had stressed the integrity and dignity of the working man and thus his need for responsibility and creative self-expression, while William Morris had placed chief emphasis on the quality of a man's life. Wilfred Wellock's own propaganda in the "twenties" and "thirties" under the aegis of the Independent Labour Party had won an election purely on appeals for a socialism with a spiritual quality.

But in the "thirties" the Labour Party gradually abandoned the qualitative concepts of William Morris and the spiritual idealists for the bread and butter politics of Bernard Shaw and the Webbs who pressed for more

and more centralisation, automation, specialisation, which they said would be followed by nationalisation of the basic industries and a three or four hours working day.

"In my own division where my spiritual and pacifist propaganda had been successful, I was urged to adopt a bread and butter socialism," he continued. "It was on this issue that I resigned my candidacy. It was the clash of a material versus a spiritual outlook or culture."

"From 1945 onwards phenomenal changes in outlook, in the motivation of conduct, and thus in the values and habits of the community at large constituted the most profound social revolution that had ever taken place in our history, or indeed in the Western world. Increasingly money domi-

nated the lives of the peoples of the West."

He had recently visited America. The fever to spend, to purchase the vast quantities of goods produced, had led to \$35,000,000,000 more purchase indebtedness, and hire purchase on house mortgages. Wages and salaries, though twice as high as ours, were not enough, whence increasing percentages of future earnings were spent every year.

Britain was now travelling the same road. This "expanding economy" had resulted in a devouring way of life that was heading for bankruptcy, economic breakdown and the tensions which lead to war.

In this country the ever increasing output of cars had created a demand for 1,200 miles of

ON PAGE FIVE

A child's life of Gandhi

Off to South Africa

Last week we read how Gandhi, having returned to India, found that he was unable to earn any money there, and so promised to take charge of some important law business in South Africa for about a year.

GANDHI found South Africa wonderful and was astonished on landing to see the great trees and huge fruits that grew there.

He soon made friends with his new clients who had called him there. They were simple, kind-hearted Muslim people, very wealthy and influential among the Indian community.

Two or three days after his arrival Gandhi went to the Law Courts with these new clients to attend to some of their legal business. He had gone back to wearing Indian clothes since leaving England and on this occasion he was wearing a turban.

The magistrate ordered him to remove it. Gandhi refused to do so and walked out of the Court instead. He had already noticed that the white people who ruled in South Africa

AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO
THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

were very rude and snobbish to Indians, treating them as inferiors, no matter how educated or refined they might happen to be.

As for the poorer class of Indians, who had come out to Africa to work as labourers, they were treated too badly for words. They lived a life little better than a slave's life.

Large numbers of very poor people from

North and South India used to come to South Africa in those days as indentured labourers. This means that they were employed by their masters only on condition that they worked for them for five years.

They had to work terribly hard, and for the lowest wages, but they had to go on working till the five years were over. They only consented to come out to Africa on these cruel conditions because of their terrible poverty.

Afraid of starving to death if they remained at home, they at first consented to anything.

Then, when they found out what a wretched life they would have in South Africa, it was too late to change. They had already signed an agreement to work for five years, and in those five years were over, they were little better than slaves.

Gandhi felt great pity for these poor countrymen of his.

HE had not been many days in South Africa before he found that the Indians were allowed to stay at good hotels or to eat in nice restaurants, or go to theatres. All these places were reserved for the white people. In some parts of the city even the pavements were reserved for them, while Indians had to walk in the road.

The white people had got the foolish idea that if a man's skin was dark he was not fit to associate with them. It did not matter how clever he was, nor how good his manners were, if he belonged to the dark skinned race, they thought he was their inferior.

It is very hard to believe that people could be so silly, but they were. And if they treated Indians in this way, no matter how educated they might be, we can guess how they despised the poor Africans, who were so very black and primitive and uneducated.

A few days after being asked to remove his turban in the Court, Gandhi had to go on a railway journey from Durban to Pretoria, on business for his clients. They bought a first-class ticket for him and he started on his journey.

After a time, a European passenger along in the carriage where Gandhi was sitting asked an Indian and called the guard.

The guard ordered Gandhi to get out of the carriage and go into the compartment kept for Indian people. Gandhi refused to go because he had a first-class ticket and had every right to be in a first-class carriage.

The guard sent for a policeman who pushed Gandhi out on to the platform, and when he ordered him to get into the other compartment he would not go. So the train steamed out of the station leaving Gandhi behind on the platform.

He went and sat in the waiting room. It was night and very chilly, and he had no warm clothes with him as the railway authorities had taken charge of his luggage. He did not dare to ask them for any of his things for fear they might insult him again. So he just sat and shivered in the dark waiting room, without a friend, alone in this strange unkind land.

HE felt that he had seen enough of the way in which Indians were treated there. He longed for home and the company of all his dear ones. Should he not return home without delay, he asked himself.

Then he remembered his duty towards his clients. They had called him to Africa to manage their business difficulties for them. They had been kind and friendly to him, and they trusted him. Was it not his duty to remain in South Africa until his work was finished?

And there was another thing that made him want to stay: Indians were treated so badly in South Africa, and yet nobody did anything about it. Was it not time that somebody should treat a man badly just because he is different to be a different colour to the white people? These foolish Europeans see how wrong it is.

As he sat shivering there in the cold waiting room, Gandhi made up his mind to remain in South Africa, and work, and suffer, until he had raised the status of his countrymen there.

His life's work had begun. His decision taken that night was like a tiny seed that one day become a mighty tree. Who could have guessed that the thin young man, shivering in the dark, would one day make a free nation?

NEXT WEEK: Gandhi becomes a leader

PAMPHLETS LABOUR AND CONSCIENCE

Reviewed by Bernard Withers

"PERSONAL FREEDOM — Labour's policy for the individual and society" is the first of the British Labour Party's policy statements which are to be presented to the Blackpool conference in October.

The policy can be summarized as: same as the Tories, but a little more of it and a bit quicker.

The statement will probably earn distinction as the most obvious piece of hack-work ever to emanate from Transport House, but it does provide the answer to a question which has puzzled many. What "primarily distinguishes Labour from the parties of the Right" is, we are told, the "planned advance towards an equal society, combined with a belief in the vital importance of common ownership."

What clearly does not distinguish Labour is any real belief in the supreme value of the human person.

After taking credit for the introduction of security checks in the Civil Service and admitting that these are a limitation of personal freedom, the statement says that such a limitation "can only be defended insofar as it serves the 'greater good' of the community."

These are the utilitarian ethics by which Russian Communism and every other tyranny can be justified, and which flatly contradict the assertion made elsewhere in the pamphlet that "the State is made for man, not man for the State."

The most specific recommendations made in the statement relate to matters which fall within the scope of the Government committee on administrative tribunals and enquiries, which was set up largely as a result of the outcry about the Crichton Down affair, and which is still hearing evidence. (The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors has submitted evidence to the Committee, part of whose terms of reference are "to consider and make recommendations on the constitution and working of tribunals.")

The Party statement has a special paragraph on conscientious objection consisting of a self-satisfied assurance that "freedom of conscience is now well established," and a mild suggestion that the tribunals really ought to give reasons for their decisions; implying that, but for this

*Labour Party, 9d.

one blemish, the tribunal system takes care of personal freedom in that field.

But about conscription itself—about depriving a young man of the first two years of his adult life, abrogating all his personal freedom for a tenth of the time he has been on this earth—there is not one word.

It is to be hoped that someone at Blackpool will say (as the Peace Pledge Union has said in its evidence to the Government Committee) that, since no tribunal can judge conscience, everyone who claims exemption on these grounds should receive it: in other words, that conscription must go.

A Life of Schweitzer REVIEWED BY 11-YEAR-OLD Branwen Randall Davies

Dr. Schweitzer, OM. The Story of his Life and work for the new Generation, by Nina Langley, Harrop, London, 7s. 6d.

This short biography was specially written to give young people a simple and clear impression of his achievement at Lambarene; the following is from an eleven-year-old contributor who was forbidden to describe it as "smashing," but otherwise given a free hand.

THIS book tells the story of the great man who left his comfortable station of life in Europe and offered himself as a doctor to the Paris Missionary Society. It sent him to French Equatorial Africa, where he designed and built his own hospital and began to treat the natives for their terrible diseases which to us in Europe are practically unknown.

I learnt quite a lot from this book and I think that other children will do so too. Nina Langley's book tells of Schweitzer's boyhood, his days as a student, his disappointments and his successes.

Much has been written about this great man who is a doctor in four different subjects, but of all the books I have read on him this, I think, is the best.

I like the illustrations immensely—especially the frontispiece which is a photograph of Dr. Schweitzer in his room at Lambarene.

The author quotes passages from other books by or about Schweitzer, and when you have finished this book you have the delightful, but rare, feeling that you know him and that he is not just a person out of a history book.

I think that this is a thoroughly good book from beginning to end, which I for one could read again and again.

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WELLOCK

FROM
PAGE FOUR

major roads in order that these cars might travel at 70 miles an hour. We should need to import more and more food as land was taken up with roadways, garages and runways, and more and more petrol to keep the cars running. That would mean more exports.

More and more specialisation, more and more automation, more and more goods to be bought, bigger and bigger incomes to buy them, more and more competition for the earth's raw material and for exports to pay for them. Where will this take us?

If these tendencies run on for the next twenty years while the coloured peoples of Asia and Africa rightly demand higher living standards, and the USA and Russia challenge each other for the monopoly of the world's raw materials, what are the chances of disarmament and peace?

In this situation Britain spends £1,500,000,000 a year on armaments. She dare not spend more because she fears bankruptcy, and she dare not spend less because she fears economic breakdown and Communism.

Only one thing can save her: a fundamental change in her way of life, which means a change in her culture, her values and motivations, and thus a transition from a quantitative to a qualitative civilisation.

A stable and enduring civilisation depends upon two things: Whole human beings and healthy social relationships. The first aim of education should be the creation of whole individuals, and an essential feature of all education should be to teach that good human relationships are a basic condition of human happiness and social well-being.

Hence the essence of culture is creative self-expression in some vocation, some life-work for the welfare of human society.

World peace

Creative, vocational labour calls forth all one's powers, and thus develops mind, soul and spirit to the utmost, resulting in wholeness, in contrast to the fragmented mind born of the repetitive labour of highly specialised industrialism.

The latter works for money only, and becomes increasingly dependent upon external stimuli and cash for all his pleasure, whereas the former develops the means of providing his own satisfaction, since everything he does, being creative and purposive, stimulates, develops and satisfies his whole being. Thus to function on this level is to be more concerned with spiritual realities and values than with maximum consumption of goods and services, and thus to be freed from the perpetual spending of money.

The result would be simpler living, fewer demands on the world's resources and thus for exports, a reduction in international tensions, and finally disarmament and peace. Creative social living would issue in whole men, an increase in the joy of living, in social health and vitality, universal co-operation, and world peace.

This culture is teachable and its values capable of demonstration. It should, therefore, be included in the curriculum of every school, college and university, in this and every other land.

Without such a cultural revolution there can be no world peace.

Letters to the Editor

Collective pacifism

IN its correspondence columns Peace News has opened up the way to forms of peace action which go to the roots of both war making and peace making.

Gene Sharp affirms the necessity, in working for peace, of "basic social change" which calls for "social action based on sound social strategy" and "personal acts based on inner moral compulsion."

Well and good; but to realise what these abstract words mean it is necessary to apply them to present realities. I will therefore apply them to the clash between the Communist and the anti-Communist power blocs, and to the situation in Kenya.

A war over Communism is unlikely to arise in the West except as the result of economic breakdown, which could occur as the outcome of the rapid advance of automation throughout the West.

A phenomenal advance in productive power and in standards of living during the next few years might well raise the demand for raw materials and food, and for the markets whereby to produce them, far beyond the power of nations to meet.

Britain's present economic plight, and the new scramble of the Big Powers for the monopoly of the world's oil resources, are but two indications of the magnitude of the economic crisis which would follow a European approach to American production and living standards, which are absorbing nearly half the world's output of raw materials.

If that crisis is to be avoided, national economic policies will have to be radically modified in due course, which means that living standards will have to fall. This would bring a new crisis in the form of a class struggle as to which section of the community must bear the brunt of the cuts.

The real or pacifist solution of this problem would be the advocacy of a better way of life, the substitution of various cultural and spiritual values for many physical and material values, which pacifists could not do unless they themselves set the example.

We thus see that an effective pacifism involves integral and personal and collective action.

Now in regard to Kenya. Peace News has done valiant work recently in exposing the wrongs that are being perpetrated in Kenya and in Central Africa, in both of which is an appreciable white population.

Already the exposure has resulted in Government action in Kenya which may be the beginning of a new order of things there. But it must be emphasised that effective action will be limited unless it has the consent of the white settlers, as the economic life of the country is largely in their hands.

Moreover, integral action will involve a considerable change in their way of life, in their living standards, and thus in their values. Many white settlers have already made many mental and practical readjustments, often in the teeth of strong opposition from their fellow settlers. But all need to go much farther yet. The most powerful lever to this end is British public opinion.

Without that backing, advanced legislation is next to impossible. Another means of pressure

is reasonably expressed African propaganda, and resistance to injustice on Gandhian lines.

We may thus conclude that the roots of war in our time reside mainly in the way of life of persons and nations, and the road to peace lies in revolutionary changes in that way of life.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

Mauritius

MR. IBBOTSON knows very well that I do not agree with him. Far from accentuating racial and religious difference, the use of PR in Mauritius will help to minimise those differences and build a united nation.

The present Mauritian voting system (the same as that by which we vote for London's Borough Councils) means that a voter must support either his party or his community and cannot possibly combine the two. For instance, suppose I am an elector in the Sydenham West ward of Lewisham and that I think more women are needed on the Council.

The candidates this year were: — Conservative: Mr. Cook, Mrs. New, Miss Trickey; Labour: Mr. Devo, Mrs. Rickman, Mr. Salts. I could either vote for the three candidates of one party, ignoring their sex, or vote for the three candidates of my own sex, ignoring their party.

But under PR I could give my full support to whichever party I preferred and at the same time give the women candidates preference over the men.

Similarly, the Mauritian Moslem, Chinese or what-not could give his full support to his chosen party while at the same time continuing to support the racial or religious community to which he still feels a strong attachment.

I am convinced that in these latter circumstances he is much more likely to join a party and to let it gradually assume increasing importance than he would be if joining the party meant abandoning his community.

ENID LAKEMAN.

The Proportional Representation Society,
86 Eccleston Sq., London, S.W.1

Challenge to pacifists

MANY pacifists must agree with Dorothy Knowles (PN June 15, 1956) that there is all too little non-violent, positive action noticeable today, and that personal reform is unquestionably the prerequisite for any general readjustment of outlook and behaviour.

All constructive action must be individually inspired before it can be collectively effective. Conviction and acceptance are at opposite poles. An army obeys, the individual questions. To be convinced of the principles of non-violence is not blindly to accept the views, discipline and conscience of others, but to believe in and endeavour to contribute to a positive way of life.

For some pacifists, a passive contribution to the climate of thought may be all they can manage. (It is, after all, from any "climate" that the few individuals emerge who are destined to lead and instruct the rest.)

Many may find opportunities for non-violent resistance and construction on the Gandhian plan, or in politics, social work, writing, speaking, industrial and commercial spheres, or merely—but importantly—in the home.

Whatever contribution we make, most of us, pacifist or not, must frequently ask ourselves "What does it all add up to?" (I met service-

men during the war who complained bitterly about their feeling of individual insignificance.) It is a question that must be solved individually before it can be answered collectively.

To feel frustrated and futile is perhaps a good sign in itself, and the desire to live individually as we would wish to live collectively is at least a step in the right direction, even though many of us stop there.

But I do feel that Dorothy Knowles is unduly despondent in saying that pacifists have nothing to offer but a beautiful theory. The activities of the Quakers alone are surely proof enough of the efficacy and existence of positive non-violent action.

But as she truly says, nothing stops Christianity being demonstrated "except the eternal reluctance of men, pacifists and non-pacifists alike, to co-operate with God in Love." And it is invariably these reluctant, particularly when self-styled Christians are engaged in mutual slaughter because they have chosen to ignore the teachings of the greatest pacifist of all, who turn to the pacifist and ask him what he is doing about it.

JON WYNNE-TYSON.

9 St. Anne's Close,
London, N.6

H-bomb

I ATTENDED a performance of the MRA musical propaganda play, "On Vanishing Island," and was impressed not only by its competence but by what seemed a genuinely Pacifist spirit.

However, at the end, when the various "changed" men and women trooped on to the stage, and some spoke, a US atom scientist, whose name I did not catch, thanked God for the H-bomb (as a necessary defence or deterrent?).

I have written a protest, pointing out that "absolutely honest, absolutely loving" men and women could not condone such a weapon and should need no protection but their God.

J. M. CRAWFORD.

1 The Retreat,
Church End, Hendon, N.W.4.

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PACIFISM

ACCUSED and DEFENDED

Miss G. E. M. ANSCOMBE is answered by Peace News Columnist SYBIL MORRISON

Miss G. E. M. Anscombe writes:

MY objection to Oxford's conferring an honorary degree on Mr. Truman was that he was responsible for the decision to drop the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; that these actions were cases of very large scale murder as it were in a new key; that they showed an open contempt for the Law of Nature and divine command prohibiting murder. Further, that the common defence of them as "having saved more lives than they sacrificed" is only true, if it is true, because the allies were hell-bent on the demand for unconditional surrender.

As it was widely publicised at the time that I made my objection in convocation at Oxford, that I was not a pacifist, and as this is a pacifist newspaper I assume that it was liberality of mind that prompted your editor to ask me to write this article. I was at first surprised and inclined to refuse, but on second thoughts I am after all glad of an opportunity to address pacifists.

For I am not merely not a pacifist—i.e. one who thinks pacifism a false doctrine—but I believe it to be an actually harmful doctrine, which has played a certain part in that remodelling of the Anglo-American conscience by which it became possible to use massacre of civil populations at large as a means in war.

A FALSE DOCTRINE

If you want my demonstration that pacifism—by which I understand the doctrine that for one human being deliberately to kill another is always wrong—is a false doctrine, I will refer you to my pamphlet MR. TRUMAN'S DEGREE (obtainable for 1s. by ordering through W. H. Smith) where this is briefly but (I think) conclusively demonstrated.

Here I shall concentrate on my thesis that it has been a harmful doctrine and that pacifists have some share in responsibility for the developments that led to the atomic bombings. I don't say "a great share" because I am sure that is not so. But I do say: some share.

You see, though you have wholly convinced only a few people, you have half convinced a very large number of people of your thesis. You have convinced them that the line between a bad action and an action that may not be bad is the line between killing and not killing. And then in face of something like Nazi Germany they think: no, we cannot actually be pacifists. So they think that they are forced to embrace the necessity of doing what is bad.

And then they draw no lines. Everything is permissible; the monstrously wicked policy of demanding unconditional surrender, and its natural concomitant, the adoption of the most

LAST month Miss G. E. M. Anscombe, tutor in philosophy at Somerville College, Oxford, criticised the Convocation decision to present an honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law to Mr. Truman, who, as US President, made the decision to drop the atom bombs on Japan.

"If you do give this honour," she said, "what Nero, what Genghis Khan, what Hitler or what Stalin will not be honoured in the future?"

But Miss Anscombe is no pacifist. We have asked her to expand her views in Peace News—and asked Sybil Morrison to use her column this week for a reply.

Since raising the issue of the atom-bombing of Japan, Miss Anscombe has challenged Dr. A. L. Goodhart, Master of University College, Oxford, to justify the bombing under international law. She has offered to pay £100 to the Pedestrians' Association (of which Dr. Goodhart is president) if he can do so.

Sybil Morrison writes:

PACIFISTS have been accused of a number of things, including being "appeasers" and causing the second world war; but never before, I think, of failing to fully convince others of the pacifist case, and thereby encouraging such "half-convinced" people to go to war, and indiscriminate war at that!

It would be as reasonable to argue that Christians should not preach Christianity unless they are certain of converting all agnostics, atheists and non-Christians, since otherwise they would be to blame for any bad behaviour on the part of these unconvinced people.

It is true that those who chose evil instead of good were to blame; whether they were half-convinced, or wholly unconvinced is beside the point, but it is quite unreasonable and untenable to hold pacifists responsible for that choice, who have consistently pointed out that to choose evil for any reason whatever can only lead to further evil.

Miss Anscombe over-simplifies, and indeed falsifies the pacifist doctrine by defining it as drawing a line between killing and not killing.

Pacifists renounce war not only because they believe killing their fellow human beings to be wrong, but also because they believe that the expediences of war are in themselves immoral and evil.

Because wars are fought in order to win, the "all fair in war" doctrine is accepted by the majority and it is quite illogical for them to object to the use of weapons which are believed to be essential to victory.

In 1925, long before Nazi Germany was born, Mr. J. L. Garvin of The Observer wrote: "The idea of a limited war is the most pathetic of all human illusions. If you have war at all you must have it at its worst, and cannot have it otherwise... its means necessarily include every device which can inflict slaughter, mutila-

tion, torture and destruction; unless we abolish war itself, by no means on earth can we lessen its instruments, or mitigate its horrors."

This is a profound truth that the "half-convinced" and the non-pacifist alike have refused to face, and the pacifist is not to be blamed for that fact. Any reasonable person ought to be able to see that if the method of war is accepted it must be fought in the way most likely to bring the desired end—victory.

Miss Anscombe writes as though the first attacks on civilians from the air originated in the second world war; this is not so, they had already taken place on the frontiers of India and Afghanistan under the British Raj. The civilian massacres of the war were the logical conclusion of the decision to make and retain the bombing aeroplane.

In fact Miss Anscombe is mistaken not only in her definition of pacifist doctrine, but also in her understanding of how pacifists define war. They do not define it only as an attempt by one bloc to impose its will on another, but as a method of attempting to settle disputes that is in itself inherently immoral and evil.

NO JUST WAR

They do not believe, as does Miss Anscombe (and incidentally the official Christian Church) in a "just war." It cannot be "just" to rely upon the arbitrament of force, which leaves the decision to chance, or to the strongest, and last nothing to do with reason or justice.

Her hypothetical example of the Island of Sark is merely the age-old argument that it is justifiable to do something wrong if the end is desirable and good. This is a doctrine which is to be deplored from every point of view.

It is certainly a new conception of Christianity that it advocates "fight your way in and make it clear what you are fighting for and your conditions for stopping."

If Jesus meant this when he said "Love your enemies"; when He declared that "as ye would that men should do to you do ye also unto them" was the golden rule by which men should live, then it is an interpretation totally unacceptable to the pacifist.

Probably Miss Anscombe meant "traditional Christianity" not Christianity. The first Christians were pacifists.

The danger in which the human race stands today is not due to pacifism but to the fact that the large majority agree with Miss Anscombe; so long as war is accepted as justifiable under certain circumstances, then wars will be fought, and they will be fought with every weapon known to science in order to achieve victory.

When the majority come to agree with pacifists that it can never be justifiable, nor right to use evil means for any end whatever, then and not before, war will be abolished.

H-TESTS MUST BE OPPOSED

FROM PAGE ONE

per cent is due to that diagnostic radiology which does apply to the gonads region within the age of reproduction, 1 per cent is due to luminous dials, 1.6 per cent to radiology and industry generally, 0.1 per cent to the Atomic Energy Authority, and less than 1 per cent to the fall-out from test explosions.

The Atomic Energy Authority, both in its capacity as an employer, and as an industry which has to dispose of dangerous waste materials, sets a very high standard which it would be difficult to criticise.

(Let us remember, to our shame as citizens, that between 1937 and 1945 pneumoconiosis, a preventable disease of the lungs, caused by the inhalation of coal and stone dust, killed 3,414 and disabled some 29,310 coalminers in South Wales alone).

It is desirable that other countries developing nuclear power should be equally careful.

As far as nuclear tests are concerned, one must remember that every one of these releases a certain amount of radiation and of radioactive material, some of which is deposited locally, but most of which goes into the upper atmosphere and travels round the world many times, taking about 22 days for each complete circuit.

It is all deposited eventually, all over the world, although if the present rate of testing continues, a steady rate of deposition will not be reached for 100 years.

A GREATER HAZARD

In view of the fact that this amount increases the natural background of radiation by less than one per cent, it cannot be said to constitute a serious threat to the health and well-being either of ourselves or of our descendants, although this might not be true if the number and frequency, especially of the more powerful types of nuclear weapons tested were increased.

One particular fission product, radiostrontium 90, which accumulates in bone tissue, especially of young children (or of any creature subjected to high-altitude fall-out) and which increases liability to certain fatal illnesses after a delay period of up to twenty or more years, is a much greater hazard than the much-publicised genetic effects of radiation.

Both are insignificant at the present level of fall-out, but the radiostrontium hazard is one that is being most carefully watched, both at Harwell and elsewhere.

Two questions, at least, can and should be put. May it not be agreed that any effect, however insignificant, that increases the liability to disease or death of an unborn child or to the birth of a defective one, is harmful and should be avoided?

Yes, but only if the effect is, in itself, un-

necessary or intrinsically wrong.

Whether we like it or not, harmful mutations are the price that we, as a human race, have paid for adaptability, without which we should have suffered the extinction that has come to other species.

We shall go on (with due care) using diagnostic radiology and radiotherapy, even although these are, in this sense, much more dangerous than nuclear tests, both to ourselves and to our descendants; they are worth the risk because of their beneficial effects.

We may even go on using luminous alarm clocks because of their convenience.

We have a duty to insist that the radiation situation shall be carefully watched.

But if we oppose nuclear tests because of their radiation hazards alone, our case is very weak and we may expect it to be ineffective. That is not our case.

OUR CASE

Our case is that they are wrong; that they result from and cause suspicion and enmity; that they cause suffering and death, unnecessarily, to millions of "lesser creatures"; that they are a gross misuse of the world's resources; and that they add unnecessarily, even if at present very little, to the world's radiation hazards.

If they were really an insurance against war, that added hazard might be worth taking, and of course that is precisely the argument of those who authorise the tests. It cannot be answered in terms of genetics and leukaemia. The Report does not deal with the situation in, say, Japan, except in respect of data accumulated after the two atomic explosions there. That is another question altogether.

As far as tests are concerned, there is no doubt that the amount of radioactivity in the rainfall, for example, has been greater in Japan than in this country.

But it is still most unlikely that radiation from tests has reached a level at all comparable with that from radiology in this country, which is still below what is "permissible." Nevertheless that situation needs vigilance.

With regard to wartime hazards, the Report is explicit and emphatic. Apart from blast, heat and direct radiation, there would be areas covering "thousands and tens of thousands of square miles" where the delayed radiation effects would be "devastating."

Given a sufficient number of bombs, no part of the world would escape exposure to biologically significant levels of radiation.

Although it is difficult to imagine the general occurrence of radiation intensities which would eliminate the entire human race, atomic warfare on a large scale could not fail to increase for many generations the load of

LAND & DISARMAMENT * FROM PAGE TWO

establishment of village republics as the basis of social structure.

The Conference discussed other issues too. The recent riots in different parts of the country again brought the twin issues of the rightfulness of Satyagraha and the ease with which both people and Government resorted to violence in settling domestic issues.

Various interpretations were going on in the country about the place of Satyagraha in a democracy. (Satyagraha refers to Gandhi's method of non-violent resistance to evil.) Vinoba justified the use of Satyagraha to fight social injustice, while he deprecated the Government's attitude and deplored the use of violence.

Jayaprakash Narayan, the Socialist leader, emerged as a prominent leader of the movement. His 12-point pledge for those who had offered to devote all their lives for work connected with Sarvodaya (called Jeevandis) was endorsed by the Conference.

The twelve points included amongst others non-participation in elections as candidates, important particularly in view of the fact that general elections are scheduled for next year.

The various study groups considered the phases and future of the programme of land distribution and collection, reconstruction and administration of villages where land has been pooled into community ownership and the co-ordination of various organisations doing Sarvodaya work within the programme of Bhodan.

As the Conference dissolved Vinoba entered a 3-day fast for "self-purification and inner strength" before he resumed his march in Tamilnad, South India.

The new revolution

A three-tier resolution dealing with the world situation, direction of the Bhodan work and the Sarvodaya movement was approved. "People's self-reliant organisation is Satyagraha. This Satyagraha," the resolution said, "is the dynamic force behind the new revolution. Economic self-sufficiency, non-violent defence, co-operative economy, basic education and collective life of the village will be the characteristics of the new society we are trying to build."

The Basic Education Conference considered how grandan villages could be utilised for experiments integrating Bhodan and basic education as they provided a most favourable condition for creating the new social pattern.

distress and suffering that individuals and all public libraries will have it. It should be read in its entirety.

Basic education, it was stressed, is no mere system of education but an integral part of all round rural reconstruction.

It also urged that higher education in the country, including the University education, should fall in line with the approach of basic education.

It was suggested that each province must develop a centre of education giving a full picture of the process of basic education from the cradle to the grave. It must include the education of infants, of children from 6 to 14, of adolescents from 14 to 18, of the university student from 18 to 21 and the adults above that age. A concern was expressed about military training in educational institutions. Military training should not, it was said, form part of the educational system.

Reduction of defence forces was possible only if the nation learnt the techniques of non-violent resistance.

The march is resumed. Much has to be accomplished before the rains set in this year. Hundreds of workers return to their tasks.

It reminded of what Vinoba said something back. "I am not moving from village to village for a few pieces of land, but to release the potent energies of the deep-rooted Indian civilisation and harness it for resolving the socio-economic problems that face humanity at this juncture."

NO JUDICIAL INQUIRY

FROM PAGE ONE

Fletcher had at his office had been prepared. When her attorney, Mr. Dingle Foot, QC, had concurred, the report would be sent to the Government of Kenya for comments, and Miss Fletcher would then consider which statement she would put into a statutory declaration.

Eileen Fletcher, accompanied by Mr. Dingle Foot, QC, the Rev. Michael Scott and John P. Fletcher attended a meeting on June 20 at the Colonial Office with the Attorney-General of Kenya, Mr. E. N. Griffith-Jones, QC. Miss Fletcher gave information in her possession in order to facilitate an investigation.

The adjournment debate on Bechuanaland announced last week was used for Kenya.

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